

SOCIAL PROGRESS



ed Protestantism Speaks
Church and Industrial Relations
nted: A Race Policy

Please
Return
to 830

MAY 1946

SOCIAL PROGRESS

Vol. XXXVI

MAY, 1946

No. 5

Acting Editor, ELSIE G. RODGERS

Contents

United Protestantism Speaks.....	1
Atomic Warfare and the Christian Faith.....	1
Columbus and the New World.....	1
The Segregation Pattern.....	1
Economic Tensions and Christian Action.....	1
The Myth of World Government, <i>by Reinhold Niebuhr</i>	1
S.E.A. in the Local Church— <i>A Symposium</i>	
The Social Action Secretary Chooses <i>Life!</i> <i>by Evelyn Luchs</i>	1
An Industrial Relations Project, <i>by James Golden Miller</i>	1
A Church Faces Conscription, <i>by Alfred B. Wangman</i>	2
The Social Education and Action Committee, <i>by Clifford Earle</i>	2
The Church and Industrial Relations, <i>by Laurence T. Hosie</i>	2
The Nuclear Physicists, <i>by Peggy Pond Church</i>	2
Wanted: A Race Policy, <i>by S. Q. Mitchell and J. C. McKirachan</i>	3
Peacetime Conscription—Undemocratic, <i>by H. C. Holdridge</i>	3
Editorial Comment.....	2
World Order Movement.....	3
Political Action.....	3
Sanctuary	3
Workshop	4
About Books.....	4
Study and Action.....	4

Articles appearing herein furnish information on current issues, represent the personal opinion of the authors, and are not to be construed as declarations of official attitudes or policies on behalf of the Department of Social Education and Action or the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

Social Progress

Published monthly, except July and August, by the Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, at 1009 Sloan Street, Crawfordsville, Indiana. Entered as second-class matter at post office at Crawfordsville, Indiana, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Acting Editor: Elsie G. Rodgers.

Editorial and Executive office, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Subscriptions, 50 cents a year; three years for \$1.25. Single copy, 10 cents.

Copyright 1946 by the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

United Protestantism Speaks

LEADERS of the Protestant Churches of the United States and Canada met early in March in extraordinary session at Columbus, Ohio, called together by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. The purpose of this unique gathering was to confront the desperate needs of the world and of our own nation in this postwar era; to consider the demands of the times upon the Church for "new spiritual and moral leadership for the building of Christian Community where tensions are deepening conflict"; to determine the way in which the Christian Church and Christian men and women as individuals and as citizens could best meet these responsibilities.

For three days the delegates to this special conference wrestled with the problems and needs in five broad areas: evangelism, world order, community tensions, foreign relief, and returning service personnel. In smaller group conferences they analyzed the problems and considered the means of solving them, and in plenary session they heard and acted on the reports and recommendations of these groups. A profound sense of urgency dominated the conference proceedings. The closing paragraph of the report "The Churches and World Order" expresses the faith and resolution of the whole conference in the prosecution of its mission:

"Beyond the resources that we can grasp is the infinite providence of God. This is God's world. It is He who has 'made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth.' It is He who has established the laws by which men's actions shall be judged Christians will stand firm in the faith that God's purposes will ultimately prevail."

The statements of the conference are impressive documents. Already they have been widely read throughout the nation and penetrating comments have appeared in both religious and secular press. But perhaps most important is the fact that these forthright statements issuing from Columbus have been generally recognized as the voice of united Protestantism.

The Presbyterian Church is a part of united Protestantism. The purposes of the Columbus conference will fail of full realization unless we face the issues squarely. In the following pages we present excerpts from those reports dealing with world order, the control of atomic energy, the segregation pattern in our national life, and the problems of economic relationships. It behooves us to be prepared in mind and spirit to judge wisely and plan effectively.

"Knowing that with God all things are possible, let us act boldly and confidently for a world order based on brotherhood, freedom, and justice."

Atomic Warfare and the Christian Faith

Excerpts from the report of the Commission on the Relation of the Church to the War in the Light of the Christian Faith, presented to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America at its Columbus Conference, March, 1945.

THE atomic bomb gives new and fearful meaning to the age-old plight of man. His proudest powers have always been his most dangerous sources of peril, and his earthly life has been lived always under the threat of eventual extinction. Christians of earlier times have felt these truths more keenly than modern man, whose growing control over physical forces has led many of them to believe that science and technology would in time secure human safety and well-being. This hope has been dashed. Our latest epochal triumph of science and technology may prove to be our last. The scientists who know most about the nature of atomic energy have been the first to declare themselves frightened men. With admirable restraint, but with impressive urgency, they have sought to awaken both military leaders and civilians to the alarming realities which as scientists they see more clearly than laymen who lack their special knowledge. The new weapon has destroyed at one blow the familiar conceptions of national security, changed the scale of destructive conflict among peoples, and opened before us all the prospect of swift ruin for civilization and even the possibility of a speedy end to man's life on earth.

In this new perspective, both moral and theological problems raised by war assume new proportions and a new urgency. Hence, all men, and Christians in particular, are required to search their hearts and minds, to re-examine their principles and practices, and to seek with the greatest diligence for effective ways to abolish this diabolical horror. We can speak here only of some of the moral and social problems posed for the Church by atomic warfare: problems arising from the past and possible future uses of the new weapons, the need for international controls, and the distinctive moral and social role of the Church. . .

We would begin with an act of contrition. As American Christians we are deeply penitent for the irresponsible use already made of the atomic bomb. We are agreed that whatever be one's judgment of the ethics of war in principle, the surprise bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki are morally indefensible. They repeated in a ghastly form the indiscriminate slaughter of noncombatants that has become familiar during World War II. They were loosed without specific warning, under conditions that virtually assure the deaths of 100,000 civilians. No word of the existence of atomi

bombs was published before the actual blasting of Hiroshima. A prior demonstration on enemy soil (either in vacant territory or on a fortification) would have been quite possible and was actually suggested by a group of the scientists concerned. The proposed use of the atomic bomb was sure to affect gravely the future of mankind. Yet the peoples whose governments controlled the bomb were given no chance to weigh beforehand the moral and political consequences of its use. Nagasaki was bombed also without specific warning, after the power of the bomb had been proved but before the Japanese Government and high command had been given reasonable time to reach a decision to surrender. Both bombings, moreover, must be judged to have been unnecessary for winning the war. Japan's strategic position was already hopeless, and it was virtually certain that she had not developed atomic weapons of her own. Even though use of the new weapon last August may well have shortened the war, the moral cost was too high. As the power that first used the atomic bomb under these circumstances, we have sinned grievously against the laws of God and against the people of Japan. Without seeking to apportion blame among individuals, we are compelled to judge our chosen course inexcusable.

At the same time we are agreed that these two specific bombing

sorties cannot properly be treated in isolation from the whole system of obliteration attacks with explosives and fire bombs, of which the atomic raids were the stunning climax. We are mindful of the horrors of incendiary raids on Tokyo, and of the saturation bombings of Hamburg, Dresden, and Berlin. We are mindful also that protests against these earlier obliteration methods were met chiefly by appeals to military necessity, whereas the eventual report of the air force's investigators has now admitted the military ineffectiveness of much of this planned destruction. All things considered, it seems necessary to include in any condemnation of indiscriminate, excessive violence not only the use of atomic bombs in August, 1945, but the policy of wholesale obliteration bombing as practiced at first by the Axis powers and then on a far greater scale by the Allies. We recognize the grievous provocation to which the Allied leaders were subjected before they adopted the policy, and the persuasiveness of wartime appeals by military leaders to the superior competence of soldiers to decide military policy. In the light of present knowledge we are prepared to affirm that the policy of obliteration bombing as actually practiced in World War II, culminating in the use of atomic bombs against Japan, is not defensible on Christian premises.

. . .

The Church's first word in our

present situation must be a call to active penitence, addressed to friends and former enemies alike. There is no useful place among us for sentimental self-accusation. But there is acute need for such humility as not many among victors or vanquished have yet shown: the humility of clearheaded, honest men who see how grievously they have squandered resources inherited from a long, laborious past and jeopardized what should have been a more enlightened future. We shall not rehearse here the sorry record of sin and misery of the years just ended. But we must note with urgent concern the continuing abuses of power by the victorious great nations and the demonstrations of irresponsibility among both conquerors and conquered. That such faults are natural after an exhausting war is obvious. That they are excusable, not to say negligible, on that account is untrue. They call for genuine, effective repentance, in which Christians ought to take the lead. The most appropriate and convincing expression of such repentance must be determined resistance to public policies of the victors that seek to cripple former enemy powers. . . .

Within the setting of Christian resistance to unjust public policies, there is need also for continual urging of more active provision for relief and rebuilding of devastated lands. Plainly the largest part of this load must be carried by Govern-

ments, but the Christian Churches have a special duty to urge upon their members, their neighbors, and all appropriate public agencies the honoring of our obligations as victors. This is not optional generosity, but plain justice. If it is right that aggressors be held to account for reparations, then it is only right that we make some specific amends for damage that has resulted from our wanton acts of destruction. . . .

We are well aware of the inadequacy and the dangers of proposing specific acts of restitution: the inadequacy of singling out a few victims from among millions, the dangers of displaying in that way complacency, hypocrisy, or misunderstanding. To rebuild Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the victims of our most spectacular offenses, would be to restore only a small fraction of what our strategic bombings needlessly destroyed. To provide special aid for the survivors of those two murdered cities would be hardly more than a token of repentance. Yet we believe either would have lasting value for future human relations. . . . Even a small effort to right injustice, if the effort be sincere, can have reconciling value far beyond its intrinsic weight. Our refusal to accept a share of the Boxer indemnity had that effect. Relief or remembrance for the first victims of atomic warfare might be misunderstood, or might be cherished as long as men remember the first atomic bomb.

Columbus and the New World

A firsthand report of the World Order section of the Columbus Conference by Hubert Noble, Chaplain, Occidental College, a delegate from the Los Angeles Church Federation.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS discovered a new world—The Federal Council conference at Columbus, Ohio, March 5-7, tried to set some patterns for creating one. That a new world is needed was all too obvious as the delegates listened to John Foster Dulles, fresh from the United Nations Organization Conference in London, present a picture of the world as it is. It is a world of disillusionment. War fostered the idea that all the evil was in the enemy and the hope that the brotherhood created by the war would carry over into the peace. "Both were illusions and both bound to perish," said Mr. Dulles. It is a world of unimaginable misery. One half of the people in the world are in danger of starvation, and unless we can give great masses of people enough food to enable them to work and produce, conditions will be as bad or worse a year from now. It is a world of political disunity. Suspicion and fear are everywhere, and at a time when men are least ready to exercise moral restraint, the atomic bomb was discovered and used.

In the clear knowledge of all this the World Order section gathered. The delegates were not experts in international affairs. They were well-informed Churchmen from all de-

nominations, strong in the faith and deeply concerned that this faith be expressed in principles applicable to these desperate problems of the day. Often was it said, "We are dealing with political and social issues but from what Christian principles do we speak?" Mr. Dulles, Frederick Nolde, and Richard Fagley contributed expert leadership. The delegates contributed deep spiritual concern, free discussion, and intelligent comment. The combination produced a pronouncement on world order which after being rewritten three times gives Christians guidance for action that begins to measure up to the need of the times.

Three major issues brought forth long discussions:

1. *World Government.* Some wished to make no mention of the idea since it seems utterly impossible at the present time. Others wished to sound a trumpet call for its necessity, feeling that the very urging of the need might call forth new possibilities of achievement that at the moment lie hidden. The issue, of course, was whether the Church should challenge us with ultimate ideals or guide us in making immediate practical steps in the direction of the ideal. The majority felt it must do both. The report says, "The actions must make full

use of the provisions of the United Nations Charter and develop as rapidly as possible a spirit of World Community which will be reflected in World Government."

2. *Relations with Russia.* Some felt that since we have differences with several nations it was unwise to single out Russia. Others felt that it was imperative that the Church give its people some guidance on the major issue concerning Christians today. How can we develop an understanding of and co-operation with Russia that will check the present drift toward misunderstanding and ultimate conflict—a conflict that probably would destroy civilization. There were those who felt that the ideology gulf between us was so deep that understanding was impossible and urged that we defend our faith at all costs. But the group hoped that unity might be achieved through working with Russia on common enterprises. Others, while seeing radical differences of ideology saw also areas of thought and ideals that we had in common with Russia. Both groups were inclined to agree that the best defense of our faith was not a forceful defense of an abstract ideology, but the living of that faith in solving the world problems. While Russia was an ally we stressed the ideas and ideals held in common. We still hold these ideas in common, and, therefore, it was recommended that while "standing firm in our convictions, we must persistently seek

sympathetic understanding, encourage every friendly negotiation, and undertake common tasks of constructive concern."

3. *Program for United Protestantism.* How is the message to be brought to the attention of the rank-and-file members of our local Churches? The guidance offered in the report is desperately needed and a committee appointed to consider the matter made the following recommendations to the Churches:

(a) That the material in this report be brought to the attention of Church members through sermons and discussion during the post-Easter period ending with a service of commitment on Whitsunday when we shall dedicate ourselves afresh to the bringing in of an order of brotherhood, freedom, and justice. During this period plans should be made for a broader and more intensive effort in the fall.

(b) That extensive use of this report should be made at all summer conferences and retreats.

(c) "That the meeting of the United Nations Assembly in the United States on September 3, 1946, provide a favorable opportunity for developing a more active and persistent world-order program. During the sessions of the Assembly, the Churches of Christ should demonstrate their concern for the principles of a just and durable peace by special mass meetings. We urge

(Continued on page 35)

The Segregation Pattern

Excerpts from the report on the Church and race to the Columbus Conference of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Segregation is the pattern of our American race relations. Segregation in America is the externally imposed separation or division of individual citizens, or groups of citizens, based on race, color, creed, or national origin. It is accepted, with some differences of emphasis, in all sections of the country. It is sometimes established and supported by law. In other instances, segregation is almost as rigidly enforced by social custom.

Segregation in America has always meant inferior services to the minority segregated. This pattern has never been able to secure equal, separate services to the minority segregated. Segregation is always discriminatory.

Segregation is an expression of the inferiority-superiority pattern of opinions about race held tenaciously by the vast numbers of Americans. Segregation is not only the expression of an attitude; it is also the means by which that attitude is transmitted from one generation to another. Children of our society, observing minorities as we segregate them, cannot easily escape the conclusion that minorities are inferior.

Segregation as practiced in America probably has more effect on the racial opinions of the young than

formal teachings of the schools about democracy, or of the Church about Christian brotherhood.

Segregation as applied to our economic system denies to millions of our citizens free access to the means of making a living and sets for them insurmountable obstacles in their efforts to achieve freedom from want.

In the greatest crisis in our history, segregation made it impossible to utilize fully large sections of our man power in the armed services and war production. It also seriously limits the contributions of minority groups to the ongoing life of our people in the fields of art, education, science, industry, etc.

Segregation subjects sections of our population to constant humiliation and forces upon them spiritual and psychological handicaps in every relation of life. This creates a yearning and oftentimes unbridged chasm in the quality of human fellowship and stands in contradiction to the higher American dream. Still more devastating is the moral and spiritual effect upon the majority.

Segregation handicaps the nation in international relationships. It was a source of great embarrassment to our leaders that we found it difficult to locate an American community

where racial practices were acceptable for establishing the headquarters of the United Nations Organization. This is a discouraging factor within our life as a nation as we begin to play our part in the new world unity upon which our future existence depends.

Political segregation has disfranchised large numbers of our citizens, tending to create unnecessary confusion in dealing with important national issues, creating unreal political decisions, and giving rise to a type of political demagoguery that threatened the very existence of democratic institutions.

Segregation increases and accentuates racial tensions. It is worth noting that race riots in this country have seldom occurred in neighborhoods with a racially mixed population. Our worst riots have broken out along the borders of tightly segregated areas.

The pattern of racial segregation in America is given moral sanction by the fact that Churches and Church institutions, as a result of social pressure, have so largely accepted the pattern of racial segregation in their own life and practice.

Segregation in the Churches

There are approximately 6,500,000 Protestant Negro Church members. About 6,000,000 are in separate Negro denominations. Therefore, from the local Church through the regional organization to the national

assemblies over 90 per cent of the Negroes are without association in work and worship with Christians of other races except in interdenominational organizations which involve a few of their leaders. The remaining 500,000 Negro Protestants, about 10 per cent, are in denominations predominantly white. Of these about 95 per cent, judging by the surveys of five denominations, are in segregated congregations and are in association with their white denominational brothers only in national assemblies, and, in some denominations, in regional, state, or more local jurisdictional meetings. The remaining 5 per cent of the 10 per cent in white denominations are members of local Churches that are predominantly white. Thus only one half of one per cent of the Negro Protestant Christians of the United States worship regularly in Churches with fellow Christians of another race. This typical pattern occurs, furthermore, for the most part in communities where there are only a few Negro families and where therefore, there are only on an average two or three Negro families in the white Churches.

What Must the Church Do?

Christians in America, more than ever before, honestly desire that quality of Christian fellowship which strengthens brethren of one racial group through the mutual

(Continued on page 43)

Economic Tensions and Christian Action

Excerpts from the Statement of the Section on Economic Problems of the Columbus Conference.

WE ARE convinced:

That as investors of funds in substantial amounts and as employers of labor in considerable numbers, the Churches have an opportunity to demonstrate the Christian ethic at vital points in the economic order. The fact that they are exempt from the pressures of competitive enterprise and largely exempt from taxation, puts them in a favored position and invites them to exercise leadership in matters of investment and employment. Too often, however, the economic policies of the Churches reflect an uncritical attitude similar to that of the less enlightened portion of the business community.

The lives of many lay persons are joined to the Churches in the employer-employee relationship. There are relatively few Churches that do not have at least a part-time helper, and in many instances the denominations, in their national and area offices, in their printing establishments and elsewhere, employ large numbers of people. This means labor practices based upon labor policies, which should reflect vigorous examination and revision in the light of the principles made manifest in the faith which the Churches proclaim. The Churches have an obligation to support, by their own ex-

ample, the highest standards in such matters as wages, hours, vacation provisions, and labor-management relations.

That all Christians recognize the higher ethical value inherent in the co-operative as over against the competitive motive and that as co-operation is emphasized and competition subordinated we approach more nearly to the teachings of Jesus. We therefore encourage the extension of co-operative techniques and other similar means of bringing about economic justice and brotherhood.

Inasmuch as many people tend to accept their vocational ethics from the secular world, the Churches should help them to re-evaluate their vocations in terms of Christian service, putting human welfare before one's own profit. Christians of all vocations should be joined in a fellowship of sacrifice, distinguished from the secular world around them. The Churches should emphasize the sacredness of personality, lest men become pawns, exploited for profit, or pushed about for convenience.

In view of the tragic shortage of full-time Christian workers we would call to the attention of those who are responsible for vocational guidance in schools and colleges the desirability of their pointing out the

possibilities of life service through the Church, as well as of interpreting all vocations in Christian terms.

That the nature of man and the structure of modern industrial society have caused the right to an opportunity for employment at an equitable wage to become a basic right. The responsibility for assuring full employment, therefore, rests upon all people as members of management, organized labor, agricultural, consumer, and other groups and through their Government.

That the strategy which labor and management follow in industrial disputes should be adopted in full recognition that consequences of their decisions may extend far beyond the locality or area immediately involved, and transcend the interests of the two parties. In our interdependent national economy the outcome of a major industrial dispute is so "affected with a public interest" that an early and constructive settlement is imperative. This calls for the maximum exercise of self-discipline on the part of both management and labor.

We reaffirm labor's right to strike, and we recognize the long-term benefits which the acknowledgment of this right has brought both to labor and to the public. But we urge the moral obligation that rests upon labor and management always to enter into and carry on collective bargaining in good faith, and to utilize fully such methods of settlement as

conciliation, mediation, and arbitration. Furthermore, added democratic procedures should be established whereby the essential interests of labor, management, investors, and consumers may be better safeguarded.

That on the international level economic justice and brotherhood are essential to world peace and order. It is always easier to state these principles than it is to find the public response to implement them. Therefore the Churches should seek more earnestly to discharge their responsibility of educating their people so that their principles will be established in the community, the nations, and the world.

That in addition to these matters on which we believe a broad Christian consensus exists, other questions press upon the Christian conscience with new urgency, questions calling for earnest study. Among them are these: the role of government in maintaining economic and industrial stability; the problem of preserving a maximum of economic freedom while guaranteeing a "floor" of economic security; the ever-recurring question whether the pursuit of profit, in the sense of a reward beyond compensation for work done can be reconciled with Christian principles; the extent to which wage determination properly involves assumptions concerning profit and price levels; and the merits of labor's demand for union security

The Myth of World Government

By Reinhold Niebuhr *

THE French observer André Siegfried thought several decades ago that America was coming of age. One hopes he was right, though it is worth noting that there are many stages of maturity and we seem hardly to have reached one commensurate with the responsibilities that have been thrust upon our very powerful, if very young, nation. At every turn we face decisions requiring us to use our power to stabilize an inchoate community of nations in a civilization that can achieve stability only in global terms.

It would be the rightful function of a "liberal" movement in such a situation to furnish the nation with nature counsel. It must be regretfully recorded, however, that the liberal movement of America has not risen to the occasion. It proves its lack of maturity by trying to solve the complex problems of our global existence in purely logical and constitutional terms. We do not yet have a world community—only faltering and hesitant beginnings toward one. American liberals, however, insist that one be brought into being by legal, constitutional, and governmental means, disregarding

the fact, which history attests on every page, that governments may perfect the order and justice of a community but cannot create a community—for the simple reason that the authority of government is primarily the authority of the community itself. If the community does not exist in fact, at least in inchoate form, constitutional instruments cannot create it. The authority of law as such is slight, and the fear of police power is useful only to suppress incidental recalcitrance against the will of the community. The community cannot be coerced into basic order; the basic order must come from its innate cohesion.

These obvious facts are obscured in almost all the educational propaganda on the problems of world government put out by our international organizations. They are rightfully concerned about the fact that unabridged national sovereignty is a principle of anarchy in an interdependent world. Their answer to this problem is to call for a constitutional convention of the world or to try to persuade the new United Nations Organization to pass a law which will abridge the sovereignty of nations. This solution takes legal symbols for social realities. The principle of national sovereignty is the legal expression of the fact that

* Professor of Christian Ethics at Union Theological Seminary; author of *The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness: a Vindication of Democracy and a Critique of Its Traditional Defense*.

national communities regard themselves as morally and politically autonomous. They have become increasingly conscious of the claims of other nations upon them and of the necessity of a larger degree of mutual accord, but they will have to reach a much higher degree of implicit abridgment of their moral freedom before it will be possible to fix and extend this moral and social gain by law.

Veto Power

The present accord between the nations, as expressed in the United Nations Charter, contains a "veto" provision by virtue of which no great power can be voted down in the council of the nations. This fact fills our liberals with moral and political disgust. It does of course prove that the great powers are not ready to submit unreservedly to the authority of a world organization. But this merely means that in the present state of world affairs peace cannot be maintained by a majority imposing its will upon a minority. When the minority is not a group of individuals but a nation or a group of nations, it will use its social and military power to defy a decision which has not been reached with its consent. We have, therefore, no real security against war. But there is no reason to think we could gain this security by constitutional means after having failed to establish the minimum basis for it by political means.

All the great nations insisted upon the veto power, and the United Nations Charter would hardly have passed the United States Senate without this provision. Russia is more insistent upon retaining the veto than we are because it is in greater danger of being voted down in the United Nations Assembly or Security Council. This fact does not deter our constitutional idealists from bombarding the ear of the Administration and the conscience of the nation with proposals for abolishing the veto. Here the constitutional answer to the problem of world peace obviously threatens the delicate and tentative degree of accord which has been achieved politically. We are professedly interested only in establishing a universal sovereignty, and we refuse to admit that we can afford greater devotion to the principle than Russia because we run less danger of being in the minority. This taint in our idealism is obvious enough to the Russians.

No Peace Guarantees

To say that there is no way of guaranteeing the peace of the world constitutionally is not to say that there are other ways of guaranteeing it. There are none. We are living in a very unsafe world; and it will be unsafe for a long time. To note the difficulty of bringing Russia into a world community does not imply that Russia's policies based on its fears are all justified. Some are;

me are not. Some are reactions to our own policies, which are prompted by our own fears. Some seem to be derived from Marxist dogmatism. But there they are. They cannot be overcome by constitutional means unless they are first mitigated by a great deal more common counsel and common experience.

The excessive devotion to constitutional answers for world problems America seems to be a dubious inheritance from the whole "social-contract" theory of government with which the liberal democratic movement began. According to this theory men and nations create communities by the fiat of government and law. That all human communities had a long history of organic cohesion before they ever began explicitly and consciously to alter or extend it is ignored. One reason why the idea of the social contract has special prestige in America is our belief that we created a nation by constitutional fiat; and we think it our special business to ask the world to find in macrocosm what we so successfully accomplished in microcosm.

This analogy fails to consider that the cohesion of a national community is so different from the organization of a universal community that the difference is one of kind rather than degree. It also leaves out of account an important aspect of our history. If our Constitution created a more perfect union," the union which the Constitution perfected had

already been established. The fear of a common foe, the shared experiences of the battlefield, a very considerable degree of similar culture—these and many other factors provided the cohesion of the American colonies. The Constitution could not have created a unity which it had to presuppose.

Emery Reves in his *Anatomy of Peace*, which has become a kind of bible of American constitutional idealism, declares that the way to "prevent wars between nations once and for all" is to integrate "the scattered conflicting national sovereignties into one unified higher sovereignty capable of creating a legal order in which all peoples will enjoy equal security, equal obligations, and equal rights under the law." The "once and for all" gives one pause, for even our own Constitution could not prevent the Civil War.

American liberalism refuses to face the fact that there is a tremendous difference between the problem of community on the national and the global level, a difference which no constitutional magic can overcome. National and imperial communities all have ethnic, linguistic, geographic, historical, and other forces of social unity. The universal community, however, has no common language or common culture—nothing to create the consciousness of "we." Modern democratic communities may be culturally and ethnically pluralistic, but they all

possess a core of common spiritual possessions which the world community lacks.

Motives Toward Unity

The world community does, indeed, have some compelling motives toward unity. Technical civilization has created an economic interdependence which generates insufferable frictions if it is not politically managed. There is in the culture of every nation, moreover, a religious and philosophical sense of world community waiting to be actualized, and of moral obligations extending beyond the national community. There is, finally, the fear of mutual destruction. It is the thesis of the proponents of world government that the atomic bomb has so intensified the fear of mutual destruction that hitherto impossible constitutional goals now appear possible.

Undoubtedly fear may be a creative force. The scared man can run faster from the pursuing bull than he ever thought possible. But the creative power of fear does not increase in proportion to its intensity. Fear finally becomes paralyzing. Furthermore, the fear of mutual destruction easily degenerates into the fear of a particular foe. Even now it must be regretfully recorded that fear of Russia in the West and of the West in Russia seems more potent than the common fear of destruction.

These are tragic facts, and one could wish that they were not true;

but it is hardly mature to deny what is so obvious. The world community lacks, in short, the potent element of "togetherness" which national communities boast. Neither law nor police power can supply this defect. If one trusted to police power alone the amount required by a universal state to maintain order in a community which did not cohere naturally and organically would be so great as to amount to tyranny.

These simple lessons must be spelled out to American idealists, not to induce a mood of defeatism, but to get them to direct the impulse of their idealism to real rather than imaginary objectives. Many creative acts are required of America that are more difficult, though more immediate and modest, than espousal of world government. Will the British loan agreement pass? If it does not, America will have proved that it does not know how to relate its wealth to an impoverished world. Shall we find a way of transferring our dangerous knowledge of the atomic bomb to some kind of world judiciary? If not, we shall have proved that we know how to resent, but not to allay, the world's fear of our power. . . . It would indeed be intolerable if we again presented the world with a case of American schizophrenia, allowing our idealists to dream up pure answers for difficult problems while our cynics make our name odious by the irresponsible exercise of our power.

S.E.A. in the Local Church

A Symposium

The Social Action Secretary Chooses Life!

The nominating committee was deeply involved in its choices when Mrs. Jones interrupted: "But there's supposed to be a secretary of social action, . whatever that may be."

Mrs. Smith thought it was a task calling for someone with a welfare background who could get people interested in solving local problems. Mrs. Brown felt that it needed a person with the League of Women Voters' approach who could get the women interested in voting for needed legislation. Mrs. Johnson suggested that it called for a woman with the techniques and background of the International Relations Chairman of the AAUW. However, the nominating committee resolved the matter as nominating committees do—by naming the woman who was willing to serve.

They told Mrs. Ash that they didn't really know what the social action secretary was supposed to do, but that she could subscribe for a magazine called SOCIAL PROGRESS in which she would find outlined some projects that had been carried out by other social action groups. Fortunately Mrs. Ash was a serious-minded woman with a concern for the deep need of humanity for justice, security, and spiritual freedom and growth. She knew that she was accepting this task in a time when vigorous steps needed to be taken—but also in a time when people were war-weary and dispirited. But believing that her Church had a mission to the areas of life where it is dominated by greed, fear, and hate, she ordered her magazine and looked around.

She discovered that the Negro children in the daily Vacation Bible School had been denied the privilege of the municipal pool when the group had gone on an outing. Here was a situation that called for specific action. An investigating committee was given the responsibility of discovering who had determined that the colored children couldn't go into the pool. When the facts were at hand a larger group set about organizing the Parent-Teachers' associations, other Church associations, and the federated clubwomen for concerted actions. They brought enough pressure to bear that by daily Vacation Bible School time this year they will have taken this one step in the direction of making the world charter begin at home.

Mrs. Ash quickly discovered that problems in the field of race had to be looked on from a local, a national, and a global point of view. The local

problem was a part of what is involved in the vast national Fair Employment Practices Committee struggle and a segment of the entire section of the United Nations Charter that deals with colonial peoples. So she went to the world order group and requested that her committee be permitted to sit in during the discussions of colonial peoples. Her group contributed to an association meeting their findings on Fair Employment Practices Committee legislation (including the latest filibuster) and discovered that women were impelled to let Senators and Representatives know how they felt about this issue—once they knew the facts.

What Mrs. Ash had done in the area of race relations was to make use of the study of another group to educate her committee from the international point of view; to choose one piece of national legislation toward which to direct the energy of her group; to go to work intelligently on a specific local project. She learned that on the local level a committee must make an opportunity for all who are like-minded in the community to work together to achieve one small goal in racial equality on the home front.

Then a member of her committee read in *The Christian Century*, March 27, 1946: "Since the Government now permits the Churches and other private agencies to send 2,000 tons a month to Germany, it is somewhat disturbing to discover that relief supplies are reaching the United Church Service Center at New Windsor, Maryland, at the rate of only six tons of clothing and two tons of food daily. This totals 240 tons a month, instead of 2,000 and it is intended for all of Europe!" The committee considered the matter and then put the following notice in the Church bulletin: "The social action committee will send a box of food and clothing each week for relief in Europe. Bring your contributions to the church basement—the rummage-sale collection room." This outreach of Christian service made Mrs. Ash know that her committee was ready to do some thinking about world community. Not even world relationships can be maintained by bread alone. So they secured *Christian Action on Four Fronts for Peace*, by the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council, and *What Next in World Order?* by John Paul Jones, and began to learn about the price of an enduring peace. They decided that as a group they should support the resolution inherent in Secretary Byrnes's recent statement: "In the interest of world peace and in the interest of our common and traditional friendship we must make plain that the United States intends to defend the charter. And in Mr. Truman's statement to the Federal Council meeting in Columbus "We intend to defend the charter. We plan to extend it. We believe that other nations intend to do the same." They let their Senators and Representatives know that they approved such determination to make the United Nations

organization work. In this area of world order, Mrs. Ash discovered that it was food for overseas, a world-wide interest, that led to serious study, legislative action on the national level, and a local project.

This startling fact was brought to a meeting of the committee: "During the past year the number of divorces granted at our courthouse has equaled the number of marriage licenses granted." The discussion that followed this announcement revealed that many concomitant problems of housing, returning veterans, public health, and lack of recreation facilities produced this chaos in family living. The committee questioned whether or not there was anything they could do. Mrs. Ash went to talk with the minister. He told her it was his experience that if the husband and wife came in for counseling—together—the marriage never ended in divorce. As a committee they decided to sponsor a clinic for counseling. Mrs. Ash ordered books, among them the new *When You Marry*, by Evelyn Duvall and Reuben Hill.¹ She made available such pamphlets² as *The Place of the Family in American Life*, *Improved Family Living Through Improved Housing*, *Our Family Ties*, *Family Week in Home and Church*, and *The Christian Family*. These leaflets were available on request. The committee helped to organize a "Puzzled Parents" discussion group, which proved very helpful from the standpoint of parent-child relationships.

The work in the area of family living began on the local level, but the committee went on to study the economic and social council of the United Nations Organization, for "higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of social progress and development; solutions of international economic, social health, and other related problems—"these are matters that build or destroy family life in the world.

Yesterday Mrs. Ash read the message of the World Council of Churches issued at Columbus, Ohio, March, 1946. It seemed to have been written for her: "We therefore appeal especially to the Governments of the five great powers to rise to their responsibilities to the world. . . . We ask them to unite their whole strength in a common purpose now for the establishment of justice, for the relief of hunger and for the development of a world community of free peoples. . . . I have set before you life and death; therefore choose life."

And she said to herself as she read: "If these are the matters upon which the decision rests, then the social action chairman chooses life."

—Evelyn Luchs,

*S.E.A. secretary, Aiken Presbyterian;
President, Ohio State Council of Church Women.*

¹ Association Press, 347 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

² For sources and prices of leaflets mentioned, see "Study and Action," page 48.

An Industrial Relations Project

The following is an account of the methods used to promote the study of industrial relations in the local Church, chiefly by means of panel discussions between September, 1944, and February, 1946.

By far the most successful venture during the period was the last, a panel discussion held on February 5, 1945, in the grade school in Jenkintown, Pa. The meeting was held on an interfaith but still definitely religious basis with the co-operation of the ministers of some thirty local Churches. The topic was "Achieving Full Employment in America." The attendance was over three hundred.

Securing Panel Membership. Leads for contacting panel members were derived from the following sources: people in the area, a labor leader, and an economics professor who had been members of the committee that prepared the report on "The Church and Industrial Relations" adopted by the General Assembly in 1944; the director and other staff members of the Philadelphia Round Table of the National Conference of Christians and Jews; the secretary of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce; the Regional CIO office; faculty members at Temple University and the University of Pennsylvania; the presbytery chairman of Social Education and Action; an elder in Calvary Church, member of presbytery's Social Education and Action Committee, and executive secretary of the Secondary Schools Commission for the Middle States and Maryland; the chairman of the panel, a member of the research department of the Philadelphia Public Schools; and one of the Calvary Church deacons, a housewife, who gave the most important lead.

If people who were called upon to take part refused, it was always possible to add to the list of leads by asking whom they would recommend. And one person's recommendation could always be checked with someone else. The fact that the first person secured for the panel was an outstanding industrialist made it relatively easy to fill in the panel. His participation had prestige value!

Securing Attendance. The Wyncote Church Board of Deacons authorized the pastor to seek the co-operation of other ministers for the proposed panel. This was done through telephone contacts chiefly, but was also discussed with a small group of ministers after another meeting. The co-operating ministers agreed to announce and promote it and most of them distributed fliers about the panel with their Church bulletins. The fliers, incidentally, contained a list of the sponsoring ministers which finally totaled thirty-seven in number.

Newspaper publicity, both in local suburban weeklies and in the metropolitan dailies, was good. Special individual contacts were made in many of the Churches shortly before the meeting.

Expenses. Fortunately these were slight, including only telephone, paper, and literature costs. An offering taken at the meeting covered expenses.

Impact of the Panel. The group was composed of the thoughtful men and women of the community, drawn largely from the more socially aware and interested Church members. Perhaps because of the standing of one of the management representatives a number of men of considerable rank in management in industrial and financial firms of the area attended. The labor representation was small, probably because of the fact that all the cooperating Churches are suburban. There seemed to be good feeling about the meeting and some ministers who at first opposed the idea of the panel finally came to support it as the character of the project became more apparent.

Previous Meetings. Prior to the panel discussion in February, 1946, meetings were held in the Wyncote Church, drawing only upon the local Church membership. All discussions were in the field of industrial relations. First there was a series consisting of an address and discussion; a three-man panel; and a discussion of a local Church "Report on the Church and Industrial Relations" which had been prepared by a committee of Church officers. The report as revised by the meeting was mimeographed and distributed to the congregation. These meetings were held in September, 1944, to study the report on that subject as approved by the General Assembly and were attended by groups varying from about twenty-five to forty. In November, 1945, there was held a three-man panel discussion on "Achieving Industrial Peace." This time the attendance was woefully small—only sixteen in attendance.

The larger attendance at the 1944 September meetings, over that of the November, 1945, meeting was undoubtedly due to better publicity, personal contact for attendance through names given sufficiently in advance to members of the Church boards, the novelty of Church discussions on industrial relations, and the fact that the meeting time was after Labor Sunday when people's calendars were not yet too full with other engagements.

The novelty of meetings in the Church on the industrial relations subject may also have helped in building attendance at the September, 1944, meetings.

—James Golden Miller,
Pastor, Calvary Presbyterian Church, Wyncote, Pa.

A Church Faces Conscription

On January 21, 1945, in a sermon on "The Cost of World Order," in the third phase of the movement conducted in the Presbyterian Church, running from January 14 to February 14, the congregation of Bethany Church, Rochester, New York, was asked to stand and be counted on the question of postponing action on peacetime military conscription during the war.

The congregation was informed of the action of the Presbyterian General Assembly in May, 1944, recording the conviction of our Church that no decision should be made during the war committing the nation to the policy of peacetime conscription. A recommendation was sent to the Churches that each congregation go on record on this issue. In accordance with this suggestion the action of the worshipers was to be taken, recorded, and sent to the President and the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee of the House and the Senate.

By a vote of 222 to 7 the congregation indicated support of the action of our General Assembly. The specific resolution adopted by this vote was "We would record our conviction that no decision should be made during the war, which commits this nation to a postwar policy of peacetime military conscription." A summary of the sermon and the action of the congregation were sent to the Rochester newspapers and given prominent publicity on the following day. Communications were sent to the President of the United States, the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee of the House and Senate, and the chairman of the Select Committee on Postwar Military Policy. These were duly acknowledged with appreciative letters from the offices of the men to whom they were addressed.

On October 24, 1945, the day following the address of President Truman calling for peacetime conscription for military training, the Friendship Club, an organization for married couples, held a supper meeting. The scheduled speaker missed his train in Utica and this offered the minister an opportunity to present the issue raised by the President's speech. After an address and discussion, an hour and a half in duration, in which both sides of the question were presented and debated, thirty-three of the members present signed a petition to the two Senators and Representatives, urging opposition to the universal military training program presented by the Chief Executive on the preceding day.

This petition recorded the conviction that the adoption of this policy and program would destroy the very values America had waged the war to preserve and guarantee, not only in this country, but throughout the world. It suggested that the structure of a durable peace can stand firmly only on the faith that war can be avoided through international co-operation and

understanding. The second objection was the opportunity such a program would provide for the mass indoctrination of our youth. To teach all young men in this country before they reach maturity not to think but to obey would threaten our system of government. The third consideration was the futility of such a method, apparent in the fact that the defeated countries in World War II had peacetime conscription.

At the meeting of the Session of Bethany Church on January 27, the following resolution, sent to the Churches for consideration by the presbytery, after being presented by the Committee on Social Education and Action, was adopted by a vote of seven to two:

"America has fought two wars to end war. A durable peace can be built on the faith that war can be avoided through international co-operation and understanding. The adoption of peacetime conscription for military training is an indication that we are not convinced of the effectiveness of the United Nations Organization, and feel that we must prepare for World War III.

"Militarism in any form is not democratic. It is alien to our American way of life. We are opposed to surrendering our physically fit young men to a form of training that calls for blind obedience to commands, routine drilling in the name of discipline, practice in the methods of killing one's fellow men as indispensable to our security.

"As followers of the Prince of Peace we record our conviction that good will and co-operation, not preparation for another war through peacetime training, will lay the foundations for an enduring world order."

—*Alfred B. Wangman,*

Minister, Bethany Presbyterian Church, Rochester, New York.

The Social Education and Action Committee

In many Churches the program of social education and action is hampered, not by lack of interest on the part of the minister and the Church officers, but by poor organization and bad technique. The result is that the program does not get through to the people whom it is supposed to educate and put to work.

The following plan of organizing and administering the local program of social education and action has been successfully used in the Second Presbyterian Church of Oak Park, Illinois, and is flexible enough to commend it to both small and large Churches:

1. A committee on social education and action is appointed by the Session of the Church. This committee should be as widely representative of the Church membership as possible, including young people, members of the women's organizations, and key men of the Church. If any organized group

within the Church has its own committee on social action, the chairman of this committee should be its representative. A committee of five, seven, or nine members is indicated, although in many smaller Churches a committee of three is adequate. The members should be selected from among the men and women of the Church who have an interest or talent in the field of Christian social action.

In some Churches the Session may wish to designate the board of deacons as being responsible for social education and action. This may wisely be done when the board of deacons includes in its membership one or two men who are deeply interested in Christian social action. It should never be done simply as a means of giving the deacons something to do. In any case, no matter what official group carries the responsibility and does the appointing, the committee should be constituted on a representative basis.

2. During the summer the committee should make a careful study of the published report of the General Assembly's pronouncements and recommendations in the field of social action. This report is released immediately after the meeting of the General Assembly in May of each year. Copies may be secured from the office of the Department of Social Education and Action. The General Assembly report defines some of the major social issues of the day and suggests lines of study and action for local Churches.

3. Early in September the local committee should make a selection of the social problems it wishes to emphasize during the Church year. These issues may be listed as a series of monthly themes. Some of them are naturals for certain months—industrial relations in September, temperance in October, world order in November, race relations in February, home and family life in October or May, citizenship in May, child welfare in June. Local issues should be included among those receiving attention. The list should be revised as necessary to include matters of local or national importance that arise during the year.

4. A formal pronouncement on the current social action theme should be released by the committee every month. This pronouncement may be in the form of a brief statement defining the issue and declaring the Church's conviction with regard to it. The work on the pronouncement should be done by the committee two weeks or more in advance of the time of release. It may be well to have one or two members of the committee make a preliminary draft of the pronouncement for the committee to discuss, revise as necessary, and adopt.

5. The social action pronouncement may be submitted to the Session of the Church for study and approval. Session action makes it a part of the official record of the Church and gives it added weight of authority.

6. The pronouncement may then be read from the pulpit on a Sunday morning, announced in the Church paper, published in the local newspapers, and in other ways brought to the attention of the people of the Church and of the community. A timely pronouncement on a live social question will help the members of the Church to form opinions that are in keeping with the Christian spirit and ethic. This should be done.

7. The reading and publishing of the pronouncement should not be the end of the matter. It may well be the beginning of a period of special study and action throughout the Church. There should be a literature table well stocked with pertinent pamphlets and books and an attractive bulletin board highlighting the issue raised in the pronouncement. The issue may be discussed in one of the midweek services, as well as in meetings of the young people's society and of the women's organization. The men's club may wish to sponsor a public meeting in which the matter is presented. The people of the Church and of the community should be urged to take appropriate action. The pronouncement has not done its work until men and women are moved to do something about the social issue it presents.

8. In the course of the Church year, the local committee on social education and action may bring before the people of the Church, through pronouncements and related programs of study and action, as many as eight or ten live social issues. Some Churches may wish to center attention upon only two or three during the year, giving more time to each one.

It takes more than a pretty plan, of course, to make a program succeed. It takes men and women who believe in Christian social action, who are willing to invest time and talent in the cause of social betterment, and who bring to their task the faith and passion of an evangelist.

—Clifford Earle,

*Pastor, Second Presbyterian Church, Oak Park, Illinois,
Chairman, Department Social Education and Action, Chicago Presbytery.*

A Church for All People

The elders of the Chapel Hill Presbyterian Church, Laurinburg, North Carolina, have adopted the following statement: "This Church has not encouraged Negroes to desert their own Churches for membership or worship in this Church. On the other hand, we do not close our doors or discriminate against or receive with aught but the spirit of Christian brotherhood any sincere worshiper who may present himself. . . . Prudence is always in order, but the Christian Church will command respect only when it tries to be true to the word and spirit of Jesus."

Interracial Pattern and Policy

In a singular way the article "Wanted: A Race Policy" speaks to a need that is in the conscious thinking of many and in the inarticulate mood of many more. The statement "The Segregation Pattern," from the report on "The Church and Race," adopted by the Federal Council of Churches in March and included in this issue, is in direct line with the proposal made by Dr. McKirachan and Dr. Mitchell and reveals how representative these men are of the best thinking of the Protestant Church.

In September, 1945, the Department of Social Education and Action also recognized that the lack in the Churches, stressed by these authors, could result in a serious weakness in facing the inevitable racial and cultural tensions of the postwar years. This lack, the department believed, could be met only by action based on comprehensive and courageous study, and so it proceeded to make such resources available for the Church along two lines:

The first is on a denomination-wide level. The help of an interracial Advisory Committee has been enlisted with Dr. T. Guthrie Speers, of Baltimore, Maryland, as chairman, and a widely representative interracial group from every section of the country as members. The function of the committee is to study and report to the department "the attitudes, practices, patterns, and relationships of the individual Christian and the Christian Church toward interracial and intercultural minority groups." It is expected that a partial report will be made to the General Assembly.

The second effort of the department in the area of interracial and intercultural concern is on the presbytery level. In the Presbyteries of Los Angeles, Chicago, Springfield, Tulsa, Union, Westchester, St. Paul, Cincinnati, and Pittsburgh the committees on Social Education and Action are co-operating with the department in evolving a Pattern of Action Program. Competent local leaders in each presbytery are now analyzing and appraising the character of the racial and cultural relations in their particular presbytery. The second part of the project will be the drawing up of recommendations for programs of action whereby the Churches of each presbytery will seek to advance, over a three-year period, from their present position to a reasonable but challenging objective. In this way each presbytery will assume responsibility for doing what is relevant to the principles of the Christian faith, which it shares with others; and also that which the situation within its own sphere of influence and action requires.

These

What Doth God Require?

The Presbyterian Church meets this year in its 158th General Assembly, a year unlike any other in all its history. The Presbyterian Church has passed through every war in the history of the United States and has faced the problem of reorganization in a disrupted society which has inevitably followed every war. But in this year, 1946, the scope of the post-war problem and responsibility of the Church is greatly enlarged; for the aftermath of this second world war spreads to every corner of the world and involves the peoples of every race and nation. By that all-embracing need, heavy obligation is laid on the United States as the most powerful nation and the richest in physical resources, in man power, and in freedom from the devastation of the homeland.

To a stricken world, in this crucial hour, the Church must proclaim its faith and hope and confidence in an all-wise and all-powerful Father, God. But to that faith it must add works. Together the Church and the nation must take their assigned places of leadership, they must bind up the wounds of war, must feed the hungry, clothe the naked, must house the homeless, and reclaim the outcast; must claim justice for the oppressed and secure for all a hearing in international councils. And what is this nation and what is this Church who must do these things? They are the men and women and young people of our homes and our Churches, of our schools, our colleges, our communities, and our industries. It is only as they accept these responsibilities and undertake this work of rebuilding that the work can or will be done.

This 158th General Assembly will face many of the particular problems that are inherent in this task beginning at home and spreading out to the ends of the earth. In its deliberations it will need the wisdom, the moral support, and the earnest prayers of every individual Christian. How shall the Church and how shall all of us know the way? The answer is simple, familiar, and very old: What doth the Lord require? He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; to do justly, to love kindness, and to walk humbly before God. There is something strangely contemporary in that profound and simple statement and in the interpretation of it by our own countryman: "It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; . . . that we here highly resolve that . . . this nation [and this world], under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish."

The Church and Industrial Relations

*By Laurence T. Hosie **

THE war is ended. The entire country is struggling with the problem of developing a peacetime economy. Widespread strikes have focused the public mind on industrial matters. While in many communities there has been a good spirit, in others there has been much bitterness to the intensification of class feeling.

I

The basic question is whether or not the American people believe in the democratic process in dealing with economic matters. Do they believe that through the free association of men in trade associations, labor unions, consumer groups, and in government there can be the give and take between differing and conflicting interests which will make growth and progress possible? The Protestant Church has a primary stake and a primary responsibility here because inherent in its teaching is the belief that man is a child of God, capable of discerning truth through free access to God and able to act upon that truth for the common good.

It becomes obvious that men will not be able to resolve their economic difficulties unless they become so

aware of God as the Sovereign of their lives and so imbued with his Spirit that they seek to make all socially essential jobs Christian vocations. Central to all Christian vocation is a concern for the total community and not for specific classes and groups to the exclusion of others.

The Church is concerned with the truth as regarding the present situation. Facts are not sought in order to support one position against another, but to lay the basis for a more adequate economy. Underlying the facts of any simple situation are broader facts about our society:

1. Economic life is so interrelated that there are limits imposed upon the action of any group or industry. Christian brotherhood is indivisible. Any concept of labor or management interest that seeks to divorce that interest from the total life is false and dangerous. While this will mean that an ideal justice can frequently not be achieved, it also demonstrates larger issues of interdependence.

2. In economic matters, as in others, men are moved more by their feelings than by their intellects. When resentments develop through long years of struggle, or men work out techniques for dealing with problems that they dislike to change, a definite limit is put on what is pos-

* Director, Council of Churches, Syracuse, New York.

ible. A worker will not be moved by an economic argument if the boss's children are fed while his go hungry. He feels that it is wrong no matter how eloquent the plea that the company cannot pay higher wages. Words have become sacrosanct, imbued with intense feeling. "Private enterprise," "socialistic," "the American system," are words around which the fears and prejudices of man rally. The Christian Church is challenged to transcend such feelings by a new standard of judgment. Does the proposed economic change enhance life, enrich the total community, free the spirit of man? If it does, it is right no matter what it does to existing systems and organizations. The Church must therefore direct the emotions of men into a passion for the common good and brotherhood which is more compelling than group loyalties.

3. We are in a period of scientific and technological revolution which is creating fundamental changes in our economic life regardless of men's prejudices and desires. Solutions, such as successful collective bargaining relationships, profit-sharing, may meet the needs of a particular situation today and yet be quite inadequate tomorrow. The insecurities that men feel in the midst of change and the uncertainty of the future face the Church with an obligation to bring men to that faith in God and his holy purpose which alone can enable them to face the in-

securities of the economic order without developing violent fears and dangerous frustrations.

II

We have already mentioned the fact of struggle. In this struggle the principle of division is constantly appealed to by leaders of all classes. When a man can identify truth and justice with his particular cause, it is not only easier to believe in, but tends to make him despise and reject as brothers those who stand in the way of its achievement. Men responsible for organizing fear to have their followers catch a glimpse of a larger brotherhood, for it often seems to dull the edge of struggle.

When right and wrong are not so clearly contrasted, men may not be motivated to correct evils. They feel, further, that their actions will not bear examination in the light of universal truth and, as they have no alternative actions, they hold to the divisive principle. Here the Church is challenged with the necessity for creating a passion for good will that the struggle for righteousness may be quickened rather than slowed; we seek to create a desire to examine the results of our behavior as it affects our fellow workers, our employers, our employees, and to bring our action into harmony with God's will. The whole struggle needs to be taken out of the area of warfare into a hunger and thirst for righteousness. The Church alone can raise men

above lesser loyalties to a higher level of creative effort.

While this universalization becomes essential, any specific action will almost inevitably mean a taking of sides. You strike or you don't strike; you arbitrate or you don't arbitrate.

III

Here again Christian democracy is challenged. Can the Church create a respect for persons so that Christian men and women may differ fundamentally in their solutions again and again and yet retain respect for each other's worth and integrity? This alone can lessen the bitterness of strife and resentment and yet make change possible. If such respect for one another can be created, then learning becomes possible, the road to a reconsideration of wrong choices is left open. If respect is lacking, prejudices must dominate and reconsideration becomes impossible.

All that has been discussed above implies that the instrument through which the Church will work will not differ from that which it now has, but that the content will be decidedly changed. The interpretative work of the pulpit, the content of religious education for children, the purposes

for which men's and women's groups meet, constant study of the nature of vocation, its Christian and unchristian aspects in specific fields, the bringing together of men of varying social viewpoints, the search for facts not as economic facts but as facts regarding God's world which express or imply his will, will raise adult groups above the level of abstractions and friendly intercourse. Instead of coming to Church to glory in the beauty and truth of Jesus, men will be seeking to create human relationships that are in harmony with that beauty and truth. Special emphasis upon the role of government as the highest expression of our collective democratic life needs to be examined. All power is dangerous. Only intelligent, informed, good men with proper motivation insure the proper use of power.

Nothing has been said above about our economic life as it affects international relations. The industrialization of Asiatic countries, the development of high standards of living in any one country as compared with others, create problems between peoples and nations that affect the peace of the world. Here too brotherhood is indivisible.

Do We Face a New Dark Age?

We have lost our sense of purpose, our capacity to inspire and uplift. That deficiency pervades all phases of our foreign relations, . . . makes us impotent to breathe life into the United Nations. Happily we still have some time . . . [but] we have no time to waste. The pattern of the future is taking form, . . . not a pleasing one. It resembles the pattern of the past.

John Foster Dulles, at Princeton University, February 22, 194

*The Nuclear Physicists**

These are the men who
working secretly by night and against great odds
and in what peril they knew not of their own souls
invoked for man's sake the most ancient archetype of evil
and bade this go forth and save us at Hiroshima
and again at Nagasaki.

We had thought the magicians were all dead, but this was the blackest of
magic;
there was even the accompaniment of fire and brimstone,
the shape of evil, towering leagues high into heaven
in terrible, malevolent beauty, and, beneath, the bare trees
made utterly leafless in one instant, and the streets where no one
moved, and some walls still standing
eyeless, and as silent as before time.

These are the men who
now with aching voices
and eyes that have seen too far into the world's fate,
tell us what they have done and what we must do.
In words that conceal apocalypse they warn us
what compact with evil was signed in the name of all the living
and how, if we demand that Evil keep his bargain,
we must keep ours, and yield our living spirits
into the irrevocable service of destruction.

Now we, in our wilderness, must reject the last temptation—
the kingdoms of earth, and all the power and the glory—
and bow down before the Lord our God, and serve Him
whose still small voice, after the wind, the earthquake,
the vision of fire, still speaks to those who listen
and will the world's good.

—PEGGY POND CHURCH.

* *Survey Graphic*, March, 1946. From *Ultimatum for Man*, a book of poems by the author, which may be ordered from Mrs. F. S. Church, Los Alamos School, Taos, New Mexico. James Ladd Delkin, publisher. Price, \$1.50.

Wanted: A Race Policy

*By Suder Q. Mitchell and J. Charles McKirachan **

ABOUT a year ago, in one of the rather exclusive suburban Churches in an American metropolitan area, two Negro Christians arose at the end of the service when the invitation was given by the minister, signifying their desire to become members in full and regular standing in the fellowship of that Church. It is the practice of that Church to receive such members immediately by popular vote. The minister was embarrassed. Nothing of the kind had ever happened before in his experience. He had nothing to guide him but his own private judgment. The decision could not be delayed without creating a situation of extreme delicacy. Therefore the vote was put, and these Negro friends thereby became members of that Church.

However, that week, outside forces as well as those within the Church itself exerted such pressure on the Negroes, on the minister, and on the official board of the Church that these Negroes resigned from their membership. And so the cause of Christian understanding and better race relations suffered another severe blow.

We fear this incident is typical of

* Dr. Mitchell is pastor of First African Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia; Dr. McKirachan is pastor of Westminster Presbyterian Church, Bloomfield, New Jersey.

the blundering, haphazard, unhappy-go-unlucky way race problems are seriously and oftentimes needlessly aggravated and multiplied. This unfortunate happening and many others like it would be obviated or minimized if an intelligent, co-operative race policy could be formulated, officially adopted by our denomination and possibly by others, specifying precisely the areas of agreement as well as of disagreement between the races and frankly facing both in the spirit of Christ. In one Church, the Fellowship Church of Philadelphia met once a month on Sunday afternoon for a year. A dozen different national and racial groups comprised the constituency of this Church. Everyone was invited, Negro, white, Chinese, Japanese, Mexican, and so on. They came. An excellent congregation was assured. A choir of as many nationalities and racial groups sang. The outstanding pulpit voices of Eastern United States brought their burning messages.

The advantage of this scheme was that those who desired this international interracial fellowship came. Only those did. There was no effort to superimpose this fellowship on a conventional already existent congregation which, to be sure, would have failed. But when such an inde-

pendent group is formed and begun from the ground up success is almost certain. This experiment has been tried in many instances and should be encouraged wherever opportunity affords. Projects like this would be studied and efforts made to establish others in various areas under the guidance of an official race policy.

It would seem that neither our Church nor even the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has an official race policy. Those charged with the study and execution of problems and solutions in this area write brilliant articles which frequently appear, but they come as a personal judgment, or as a mere committee report. But if a clear, courageous, and concise policy were formulated and adopted, we would know exactly where we stand, the next steps to take, and how. A group of Christian Negroes and white leaders who respect and understand each other could co-operate in blocking out the problems and the strategy of their solution. A clear definition of the attitudes of each group toward the others; a clarification of and insistence upon our common allegiance to Jesus Christ; and a statement of the detailed steps we can take separately and together in the future, could thus be provided.

The group charged with this responsibility might be a subcommittee of the General Assembly's Committee on Social Education and Action. Their findings could then be

incorporated in the annual report of the Committee on Social Education and Action and thus be received and adopted by the Church. Thus each minister and congregation would be furnished a blueprint stating the race policy of our Church, commonly agreed on by those who have made a study of the problems and worthy for promotion and education throughout the constituency of the denomination. This, we believe, would be a long step toward interracial understanding and toward the solution of our common problem, together with the strengthening of our fellowship and service in the name of Christ.

As it is, chaos is king in race relations, religiously speaking. The labor unions and other groups have gone far beyond the Church in working out a pattern of understanding and co-operation. There is much wisdom and a vast amount of good will interracially within the Church, all of which is generously poured forth and none of which is lost or wasted. Yet it is not channeled. It is dissipated and scattered all over the spiritual landscape with prodigality and confusion. This priceless commodity needs to be conserved and encouraged, gathered, concentrated, and applied at strategic points. Great progress can be made if issues are clear and agreement is known and if differences are understood and appreciated. Our common Christian brotherhood is more powerful than

our differences, but we needlessly irritate one another, fear to speak out frankly and clearly of differences, so that instead of intelligent, objective, determined co-operation, emotional tension prevails.

To be sure, such a policy would require ceaseless revision. New problems would always be presenting themselves and new areas of difficulty would arise. This policy itself would be severely condemned and criticized by extremists, for of necessity it would suffer from the inevitability of being a compromise. It would give detailed suggestions and definitions of the problem areas and offer information as to the way these problems have been solved. Such problems as the following would receive special attention:

1. Should there be co-operative Negro and white Churches?
2. Does the Negro desire a racially mixed religious life?
3. Should experiments be undertaken to create Negro-white Churches?
4. How may these best be formed?
5. We need fellowship for understanding. How may this fellowship be fostered and furthered?
6. What does the Negro race believe the white race should do
 - (a) Immediately?
 - (b) As occasion provides in the future?
 - (c) As its final aims?
7. What things that white Chris-

tians do aggravate Negro Christians, and vice versa?

8. What are the formulated aims of the Negro race and how can the white Christians assist in their achievement?

The extension of this list to other fields would be simple. Maybe we know the answers to some of these questions now. However, our answers are confused. There is no unity in our attitude and approach. The forthright statement of an official race policy would make the problems tangible, concrete, and definite. In the spirit of understanding and love, through mutual criticism as intelligent adults, ever more adequate solutions along tried paths of successful co-operation could be secured.

As Christians we justly encourage capital and labor to conciliate their disputes and to operate as grown, mature citizens of an adult world rather than as immature, prejudiced, and emotionally unbalanced children. We raise our voices in encouraging the elimination of war through mutuality and friendly examination of international grievances. Yet within the borders of the Christian Church, where the spirit of understanding already exists, this policy is not pursued and needless alienation ensues.

It would seem that our frank facing of our common problems in the light of our common faith would bring light and joy in an era of Christian relations.

Peacetime Conscription—Undemocratic

The following statement is of particular interest because it expresses the view of an Army man of long experience in opposition to the Army program of compulsory military training. It consists of excerpts from the testimony of Brigadier General H. C. Holdridge, U. S. Army (Retired), now chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Veterans League of America, before the Military Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives.

THE views I am presenting are the result of thirty years of military service. I have analyzed the problem of compulsory military training carefully and impartially. I am convinced of the soundness of my views and believe that it is my duty to bring them to the attention of the people of the country. After studying the problem and after listening to the representatives of the War Department I am depressed and appalled that the Army seems to have learned little during the past thirty years. I am unable to find a single argument presented by the War Department in favor of compulsory military training that will stand up under close scrutiny. I shall present my conclusions under five headings:

I. Military Value of Training

This program will not assure our national security. In its approach to this problem the Army is running true to form. It is always one or two wars behind in its thinking. . . . Today we have developed a new weapon in atomic power, and again the Army returns to the same techniques that it taught after World War I. The development of the atomic bomb

constitutes a revolution in military science more sweeping than the invention of gunpowder. All our preconceived ideas have been rendered obsolete, and must be re-evaluated in the light of the new weapon. . . . Yet from its own evidence the Army is planning on running men through its training camps, teaching them the use of the bayonet and the rifle, the operation of combat teams, and all the paraphernalia of the techniques of World War II, when it should be apparent to anyone that World War III will not conform in any sense to World War II. . . .

If we are to defend our country under future conditions, it seems reasonable to suppose that we shall need two types of trained men. The first type would be in the nature of a military police force for the occupation of foreign territories. These could be trained by the regular Army or the National Guard without compulsory military training. The second would be a small, highly mobile, highly technical, tremendously powerful striking force, using the newest types of weapons. That force must be in existence, constantly altered, sleeping on its arms, *as of*

now. A reserved force of air power of fifty thousand pilots and mechanics, with planes to back them up, might have been all we needed in 1941. A reserve force of as many, trained in the new techniques, might be all the country requires now. Perhaps the estimated strength of 100,000 attributed to General MacArthur will be adequate. Perhaps we need two or three times that number. It is obvious that we cannot use a reserve of from six to ten million men for any such force. We cannot know until detailed studies have been completed.

II. Preservation of Our Democratic Institutions

We have fought our wars for the preservation of democracy and personal freedom, and the Army has been the means to that end, and not the end in itself. If we are sincerely interested in the preservation of democracy, we must be convinced that democracy will be strengthened by the program, and not weakened. . . . It may be argued that an army cannot be democratic. That argument is open to question, as no form of democratic control has ever been tried. . . .

Certainly, if the machinery of control over the Army is nondemocratic, and if the indoctrination of the Army under totalitarian leadership is nondemocratic there can be little hope that democracy will survive.

III. Over-all Effects of the Program on the Young Men of the Country

Our Army leaders are trying to sugar-coat the pill. They are trying to sell us a pig in a poke, by emphasizing the by-products in education, health, recreation, and discipline. This raises a basic conflict in attitudes which the Army cannot resolve. The Army is not, and cannot be, a benign, socially conscious institution acting as godfather to our youth. *This is no youth movement.*

The Army has no social techniques and no social responsibility. Army camps have been army camps since before the days of the Greek phalanx. The restraints that our boys find in their homes, in their schools and colleges, and in their social environment, do not exist in Army camps. They would be uprooted from their normal environment and transplanted to an environment totally foreign to our social structure. . . .

Parents and school authorities are eager to develop within our boys during their formative years a sense of personal responsibility and initiative as they approach manhood. In the camps every hour of the day would be regulated, every activity would be "by order," all need for independent thinking would be eliminated. The sense of personal responsibility and of initiative required in civil life would have little opportunity to develop. At the end

(Continued on page 44)

Columbus and the New World

(Continued from page 6)

regular prayers of intercession for the guidance and success of the General Assembly during its session.

"During the month of September we suggest that the interdenominational and denominational agencies join in holding regional conferences for local clerical and lay leaders on the Christian strategy for world order.

"In October, following these training conferences, we propose a nation-wide mobilization of the Church people for Christian peace action. The goals of this study and enlistment program would be set by the action of this Council and by possible subsequent statements to meet new needs. World-wide Communion Sunday can serve to initiate this enlistment. A special national broadcast might be used to launch the program. This study period should culminate in World Order Day, November 10, with a new affirmation of the Christian mission for world order."

Finally it was urged "most strongly that at the national and international level of united Church action in this field, some procedure be worked out whereby denominational representatives may be called in to aid in the planning in advance of a united world-order program, so that common emphases may be made in all the Churches of Christ and an effective impact made on the world of nations."

It will be helpful to summarize the contents of the report in terms of what it suggests to our political leaders. As Mr. Dulles outlined it, the Church calls upon the nation, as a member of the United Nations Organization and as a cobelligerent and party to the peace.

1. Action of the United States in its individual, corporate capacity.

(a) Support the economic purposes of the United Nations Organization and its related agencies for stabilization and reconstruction. Give generous material aid

to help countries impoverished by the war to rebuild their economic life. Extend the proposed credit to Great Britain.

(b) Make a clear declaration of our intention to apply the "principle of trusteeship to such areas as may be detached from Japan."

(c) Give tangible evidence of our confidence in the United Nations by declaring our willingness to accept compulsory jurisdiction in the International Court of Justice.

(d) Assign the control of the atomic bomb and atomic research to civilians, not military agencies. In our American democracy it is essential that civilians, not the technical military leaders, make all policy decisions.

2. Action for our nation as a member of the United Nations:

(a) Choose our representatives to the United Nations Assembly and other United Nations bodies early enough to enable them to be thoroughly informed on the problems with which they must grapple.

(b) Through the United Nations Organization seek agreement immediately on a comprehensive plan for the progressive reduction of armaments throughout the world and for the universal abolition of peacetime conscription.

(c) Do all we can to get under way as soon as possible the development of international law and its codification.

(d) Do everything possible to speed the development of a bill of human rights.

3. Actions for the United States as a cobelligerent and a party to the peace:

(a) Continue to press for the giving of self-government to dependent peoples.

(b) Seek to give justice to the vanquished as well as to the victor. Limit reparations to productive capacity over and above that required to maintain average living standards.

(c) Do our best to stop the displacement of men, women, and children in mass evacuations and to stop the mass enslavement of peoples.

WORLD ORDER MOVEMENT

Post-Easter and After

FOR two months now this page has proposed the formation of small groups in Churches throughout the country to meet during the month of May for study and discussion of the pressing issues confronting the United Nations and the specific responsibilities which devolve on the United States for action in relation to them.

These groups are urged to give at least four successive weekly meetings to study and discussion and to plan definitely for further action as a result of it.

Still Time to Organize

A copy of the Columbus Conference report on "The Church and World Order" has been sent to every active Presbyterian minister. Additional copies of the report and a copy of the guide for the use of discussion groups may be had on request, and copies of the report on "Atomic Energy Control" are available at 10 cents each. Orders should be sent to World Order Movement, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa. These together with articles in this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS and current information on United Nations and Congressional action and other matters of world concern will provide "grist for the mill" of group discussion, political action, and later co-operation with other Churches and community groups.

Many Churches followed the suggestion and organized their groups in readiness to proceed as soon as study guides and materials were received. One minister of a large and scattered parish wrote: We have discussed our plans but have not yet decided whether we shall meet as a congregational group or smaller neighborhood groups. Either is a possibility.

A Presbytery Plan

The following letter from the Social Education and Action Committee to the

Presbytery of New Castle is suggestive for presbytery, presbyterial, or local Church:

"Dear Fathers and Brethren:

"The particular emphasis of the Department of Social Education and Action this spring is a post-Easter study of world order under the theme 'Toward World Community.'

"There is much to make us respond to this program. April 25 is the first anniversary of the United Nations Conference at San Francisco. The first meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations will have recently come to an end, and the great Paris Conference, drawing up final peace settlements, will be opening.

"Accordingly, the department has drawn up a four-session study course to be used in our local Churches beginning as soon after Easter as possible. [Here the outline of the study is given.]

"Your Committee recommends: 1. That each Church in the presbytery plan to conduct a four-period study course on this theme as soon after Easter as possible. 2. That each Church appoint a woman from its Women's Association who will be known as Social Action Chairman, and send her name to the Committee.

"Your Committee calls to the attention of all Churches the continuing need for used clothing to be sent overseas. Items may be sent to the Welfare Center, New Windsor, Maryland.

"An Eastern Summer Training School, similar to that held annually at Wooster, Ohio, will be held at Hood College July 1-12. During the first week of this School a two-hour course will be given daily on Social Education and Action.

"John M. DeChant, Chairman."

If your Church has not yet organized for study, begin now. The summer is before you.

POLITICAL ACTION

Extension of the Draft. Secretary of War Robert Patterson on March 21 told the House Military Affairs Committee that the Army wanted 1,070,000 men as of July 1, 1947. He revealed that there are already 616,000 volunteers, over half of them—329,000—for a three-year period. He added: "We estimate that we will have approximately 800,000 volunteers on the first of July of this year. According to our best estimates we should get an average of 30,000 volunteer enlistments per month for 1947 if the Selective Service Act is not continued. Enlistments at this rate, if realized will support a volunteer regular Army establishment of some 800,000 enlisted men throughout those 18 months. An Army of 1,070,000 officers and men," he continued, "will include 100,000 officers. We anticipate no difficulty in procuring these officers. Therefore enlisted volunteers plus officers make up 900,000 of the 1,070,000 officers and men required on July 1, 1947 and thereafter." Mr. Patterson concluded by saying that "without Selective Service we shall be short of requirements by 170,000 men."

Two questions need to be raised. Does this require extension of the draft or could this need be met by voluntary enlistment if the Army basic pay were raised?

Express your views with reference to the draft to your Senators and Congressman.

Atomic Energy Legislation. As reported in *The New York Times*, April 3, 1946, the Vandenberg amendment to the McMahon bill (S. 1717), which in the judgment of many gave control of the applications of atomic energy to the military authorities, has been revised and passed unanimously by the Senate Atomic Energy Committee. In its revised form the Military Liaison Committee of the Atomic Energy Commission proposed in the McMahon bill loses jurisdiction over matters pertaining to "common defense and security," and the fundamental function of the Military Liaison Committee is narrowed to military applications of atomic energy. The power

of informed public opinion to influence Congressional action is again demonstrated, for it is revealed that nearly 100,000 communications were received by the committee, favoring complete civilian control of atomic energy, and individual members of the committee received thousands of additional letters from their own constituents.

The State Department proposal for international control of atomic energy contemplates an Atomic Development Authority to have control of the raw materials that are the sources of atomic energy. The large field of nondangerous and relatively nondangerous activities would be left in national hands subject to moderate controls by the international agency, exercised through licensing, inspection, and the like.

Vets Housing Bill. This bill stripped of most of its vital features when passed in the House is having more friendly treatment in the Senate Committee. The \$600,000,000 subsidies provision removed by the House has been restored, as has the market guarantee for producers of new materials and price ceilings on existing homes and on building sites. These features, according to Administrator Wyatt are essential to handle this housing program for 2,700,000 veterans' homes with proper speed and economy. Watch this bill (H. R. 4761), for it will need friends when it comes to the floor of the Senate and again when the amended version goes back to the House for concurrence. It should not be confused with the General Housing Bill (S. 1592), which will be up later and is the over-all bill.

National Health Bill. Lines are being drawn these days in respect to the issues in a Federal health program. In the February issue of *SOCIAL PROGRESS*, page 11, some of the facts to be considered are set forth. Clear thinking, objective considerations, must be the basis for Christian citizens to use when they form convictions on this issue. Citizens should prepare **now** to act later.

Sanctuary

*Meditation on the Lord's Prayer **

Theme: "Deliver us from evil."

Call to Worship:

Leader: Come, let us worship and bow down before the Lord, who is faithful who will not suffer us to be tempted beyond what we are able to bear, but with the temptation doth make also a way of escape that we may be able to endure it.

People: Wait, then, on the Lord, in the time of your temptation: be of good courage and he shall strengthen thine heart. Wait, I say, on the Lord.

Invocation:

Almighty God, who art beyond the reach of our highest thought, and yet within the heart of the lowliest, we pray thee to come to us in all the beauty of light, in all the liberty of truth, and make thyself known to us. Mercifully help us in the struggle to be pure and good, encourage us in every effort to be true, loyal, and loving, to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thee. Sanctify all our desires and purposes, and upon each of us let thy blessing rest. Amen.

Hymn: "Come, Thou Almighty King."

Scripture Lesson: Matt. 4: 1-11; 26: 36-39.

Meditation:

This is a most peculiar petition—for temptation is inescapable. We seem to be asking God to do the impossible—for temptation is a necessary part of our lot. It is our belief that God wants persons, not puppets. He wants children with whom he can have fellowship, not machines that do his work. That means we must be given the power to choose—and the power to choose carries with it always the possibility of making wrong choices, of doing wrong things. God's purpose for us means that temptation is necessary: we cannot escape it.

Every situation that we meet tries our souls. Consider how:

- the many perplexing problems of the world tempt us to despair.
- the immensity of the present task of meeting man's physical need tempts us to say it is impossible.
- the hatred and greed, seen in international and economic life, tempts us to be cynical.
- the suffering we have endured tempts us to give way to hatred and to seek revenge.
- the personal sorrows that have come to us tempt us to question whether or not God cares.

* This is the fifth and last of the meditations on the Lord's Prayer, prepared by Rev. Stephen J. Mathers, M.A., minister of St. James-Bond United Church, Toronto, Canada, and used in the vesper services of the International Conference on Adult Education at McMaster University Hamilton, Ontario, during the summer of 1945.

We are tempted to sin by being selfish and greedy, by hating and despising others, by dishonest business methods, in personal failure and in lower forms of living.

Every situation faces us with the alternative of good or evil.

Even Jesus was tempted—in all things like as we are. After the temptation in the wilderness we read that Satan left him for a season. And we know that many times in His later ministry Satan returned again to the attack.

Let us then underline these words: We cannot escape temptation. It is necessary to our spiritual growth. There is no character apart from it.

In that case, what meaning has this petition? Of what use is it thus to pray? The answer seems to lie here:

No man can be so sure of his power to live righteously that he can say, "Take me into any situation. I can come through it with my character unscathed and my faith unshaken." But recognizing our weakness we pray, as Jesus taught, "Lead us not into temptation." For Jesus himself prayed thus in his agony in Gethsemane. Facing the cross he cried out, "If it be possible, let this cup pass from me." And so may we pray. If God needs us to go into places of great temptation that his work may be done, then we must be ready to go, knowing that he will uphold us. But, "Protect us, O God, against needless or too great temptation."

Then, when we are in the place of temptation, when it is not possible to turn aside from it, our reliance is upon God. We pray again as Jesus prayed: "Nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt." "Deliver us from despair, give us thy strength and in thy mercy bring us safely through." We pray with the assurance that God's grace is sufficient to meet our need. We know he will keep them in perfect peace whose trust is in him. We "are persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." He will "deliver us from evil."

This is a prayer for today. The times are evil and uncertain; the way is dangerous and dark, the forces of evil are strong and daring. As we carry on the battle for the Kingdom of God we must pray, "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil."

Hear the words of a man of old who was in a place that tried his soul—and who found the way of triumphant peace:

I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills—From whence cometh my help?

My help cometh from the Lord, who made heaven and earth,

He will not suffer thy foot to be moved,

He that keepeth thee will not slumber,

Behold, He that keepeth thee will not slumber nor sleep.

The sun shall not smite thee by day, nor the moon by night.

The Lord shall preserve thee from all evil, for He shall preserve thy soul;

The Lord shall preserve thy going out and thy coming in, from this time forward—and even for evermore." So trusting, we shall be kept from evil.

Let us pray:

O Thou, whose Son was tempted even as we are tempted, thou knowest the need of man. Hear us as we pray for thy guidance and help in this day. The times bear heavily upon our souls; it is so easy to hate, to seek revenge, to seek our selfish advantage. It is so easy to believe that as we establish ourselves by our own wisdom and in our own ways we are building peace. Guard us, O God, against the evil of selfishness and misjudgment.

So direct our ways, our Father, that we may conquer the temptations that must be met. The days are dark and evil, yet we look toward the new day. One misstep, one false move, could bring the horrors of war upon us again. In the great task of rebuilding the economic and social structure of our land and of the world, one mistake could bring upon us severe crisis. So in all our ways protect us from our own folly. Keep thou our feet, O God.

But when temptation comes, as come it must, then, our Father, deliver us from evil. Save us from the dominant evils of our time: from hatred and vindictiveness, from all forms of self-deception, from the oversimplification of moral and ethical issues, from insensitiveness to human need, from reluctance to take responsibility. So may we learn to pray the prayer that Jesus taught his disciples, with constant self-searching, with increasing faith, and deepening devotion, saying:

"Our Father who art in heaven,

Hallowed be thy name.

Thy kingdom come.

Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven.

Give us this day our daily bread.

Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.

And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil:

For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory,

For ever and ever." Amen.

Hymn: "Make Me a Captive, Lord."**Benediction:**

The Lord bless thee and keep thee;

The Lord make His face to shine upon thee and be gracious unto thee;

The Lord lift up His countenance upon thee and give thee peace. Amen.

The Living Christ

We declare to all men everywhere our assurance that Christ is the one hope of unity for the world in face of the distractions and dissensions of this present time. We know that our witness is weakened by our divisions. Yet we are one in Christ and in the fellowship of his Spirit. We pray that everywhere, in a world divided and perplexed, men may turn to Jesus Christ our Lord, who makes us one in spite of our divisions; that he may bind in one those who by many worldly claims are set at variance; and that the world may at last find peace and unity in him; to whom be glory for ever.

—Second World Conference on Faith and Order, Edinburgh, 1937.

The Workshop

Church Leaders Rally to Strikers.
Pittsburgh, Pa.—Rev. Charles O. Rice, well-known Catholic priest, told striking GE steelworkers they were waging the battle of the future." Urging community support, Father Rice said: "They aren't fighting for anything fancy. They are fighting for food and clothes and shelter for themselves and their families."

"We're 100 per cent behind the union," said Commander William H. Donald, of F.W. Post 247. "We've offered our kitchen facilities to the strikers and we're ready to give the strikers money donations."

Commander William Lewis, of American Legion Post 538, said, "We're taking care of our boys, many of whom are among the strikers."

Bloomfield, N. J.—Mayor John A. Reed, pastor of Presbyterian Church, opened the strikers' mass meeting with this invocation:

"Help us so that when we pray, 'Give us this day our daily bread,' the 'us' will include all people. Help these people in their fight for a decent living wage and better conditions for all people."

American Legion Commander Edward Harrington told strikers, "You're soldiers of a new type," and pledged full support.
Syracuse, N. Y.—Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish ministers joined civic leaders in a committee to aid striking GE workers as well as strikers at near-by auto and steel plants.

Boston, Mass.—Eleven New England ministers of various denominations and their co-workers joined GE strikers and set up a permanent organization to support the strikers with living necessities and moral backing.

New York City—National Committee to Aid GM Strikers contains the names of *Life-Fortune* publisher Henry Luce,

Republican Presidential aspirant Harold M. Stassen, Marine Col. Evans Carlson, movie producer Walter Wanger, and many others.

Markets provided bins for contributions of food to GM, American Communications Association, smaller strikes. Restaurants, cafeterias, donated large quantities of hot food to strikers. The victorious end of the ACA strike against Western Union found union canteens overflowing with canned goods donated by housewives and stores.

Rev. J. Howard Melish, of Church of the Holy Trinity, headed Brooklyn citizens' committee to help strikers.

Lansing, Mich.—Father W. J. Flanagan, of St. Mary's Cathedral, scored GM's concept of labor relations. "Intelligent Christians cannot accept so-called free enterprise, unregulated by fair plan or just law," he said (from *In Fact*, February 18, 1946).

Interracial Breakfast. For six years the Interracial Breakfast Group of Redlands, California, has been eating breakfast together one Sunday morning each month. The group is made up of members from any Church who wish to attend. The Church women in the various Churches take turns entertaining. Notices of the meetings are carried in Church bulletins and local newspapers, and those who attend invite many personally. There are usually between 50-60 in attendance. The programs vary between talks on problems of various races and topics of general interest. There is always a report on legislation in this field, and often a committee report regarding a visit to some place where discrimination is being practiced, and what the committee has tried to do in building understanding. From the beginning the group has had a project outside itself to which all contribute jointly: at

each breakfast the little iron pigs are passed, and the money is contributed to the American Mission to Lepers, Inc.

Price Controls and Production. In November, 1945, only four months after V-J Day, industrial production was 51 per cent higher than it was in 1939, our last real peacetime year. And that high level of production was reached before reconversion was completed. Does that record indicate that price controls are slowing down production? However, many things remain in short supply because of the time needed for certain manufacturers to change from war to peacetime production, the terrific demand backed by the large amounts of spending money in people's hands, short supplies of basic materials, labor shortages, and labor-management difficulties.

The Labor Force and Production. "Those persons who claim that price regulations are hampering production have not considered the size of the labor force. In December, 1945, 6.5 million more people were employed—a total of 51.4 million persons—than were employed in our last peacetime year, 1939. What are those 51.4 million workers doing if they are not producing? Why is it that industry after industry is crying for more and more employees?" (From briefs of the Office of Price Administration, Washington, D. C.)

Citizens Get a School. In the little town of Dixon, New Mexico, way up in the heart of the Santa Fe Valley, the citizens have demonstrated real social action. Dixon is a rural community of two Churches, two schools, two stores, and a few houses. The total population, including the homes in the scattered area, is 1,500. This is one of the communities in which our Board of National Missions has for many years demonstrated the value of education through the work of one of the Plaza schools. The population is composed largely of Spanish-speaking peoples,

whose ancestors have lived in this area for hundreds of years, long before New Mexico became a part of the United States. The citizens decided they would like to have a modern high school so that it would no longer be necessary to send their children to boarding school if their education was to go beyond the eighth grade, and in order that they too might have a proper community center a request was sent to the State Department of Education. One of the two pastors in the town heard about this, and, being opposed to education, went to the state capital and used his influence to stop the movement. The citizens became very irate and sent a committee to the state capital to get a high school. After considerable visiting and correspondence back and forth, the state, convinced that the citizens meant business, told them that if they would raise \$5,000 the state would provide the difference and build them a \$50,000 high school. Three months later, on the day this reporter visited Dixon, a rummage sale, a movie, and a party put the citizens over the top in their campaign for \$5,000. A small group of men and women took the leadership and directed the plan. Encouraged by this project the Presbyterian Churches of the vicinity are now collecting rummage to raise \$3,500 to purchase a camp site so that the children of the valley may have the advantages of a camp program each summer.

Attention, Program Chairman! The Y.M.C.A. and *Look* magazine are pooling their resources for a special series of films. It will be titled the "Art of Living"; two one-reel subjects, "You and Your Family" and "You and Your Friends," are ready now. Write Y.M.C.A. Motion Picture Bureau, 347 Madison Avenue, N. Y. 17. Film Strip, "USSR—the Land and the People," with speech notes, may be used to contribute toward the understanding of Soviet Russia; order, Brandon Films, Inc., 160 Broadway, New York 19.

The Segregation Pattern

(Continued from page 8)

helpfulness of brethren of all racial groups. Efforts directed toward such mutual helpfulness are frequently confused and ineffectual because of the segregation pattern which defeats good will. Men of God will find themselves frustrated and defeated when they attempt to live out their Christian impulses within a racially segregated society.

The Church Must Eliminate Segregation from Its Life

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America hereby renounces the pattern of segregation in race relations as unnecessary and undesirable and a violation of the Gospel of love and human brotherhood. . . . Having taken this action, the Federal Council requests its constituent communions to do likewise. As proof of their sincerity in this renunciation they will work for a nonsegregated Church and nonsegregated society.

The Churches of America, while earnestly striving to nurture and develop individuals of racial good will, have at the same time neglected to deal adequately with the fundamental pattern of segregation in our society which thwarts efforts of men of good will. This must be corrected. Churches should continue a comprehensive program of action in fulfillment of the second function.

With this end in view, it is recommended that at each communion take steps to ascertain the facts concerning the practice of racial segregation within its own life and work, and formulate a plan of action.

The Church, having chosen to renounce the segregation pattern as a violation of the Gospel of love, and having outlined steps by which the practice of segregation may be corrected within its own life, must next direct its attention to the community within which the Christian Church functions.

The Clinical Approach

In order that the community may sense the transforming power of organized religion in relieving tensions arising from the segregation pattern locally, we urge upon Churches and Church councils the value of race relations clinics to affect the daily lives of people where they live.

Such clinics seek to discover factually what are the action tension points in interracial living and, in the light of such facts, what constructive steps may be taken to alleviate these tensions. The Churches, through ministerial associations and councils of Churches, take the initiative in enlisting the co-operation of the leaders of social, labor, business, and civic agencies of the community. The fact-finding process and the diagnosis based thereon deal with such questions as discrimination in employment, housing, education, health, and leisure-time activities. It further analyzes the communities' resources, including the Churches, to ascertain where they integrate and serve Negroes and other minority racial groups as well as where they fail. By this means they seek to develop methods of factual analysis and through democratic agreement formulate a community-wide plan of action to change the policies and practices that have created tensions and segregation patterns.

We have outlined what we believe to be certain glaring defects in the ideals and purposes of our Protestant Churches in the matter of race relations, calling special attention to the unchristian character and unfortunate results of the segregation pattern. We are not unmindful of the heroic services done by the Churches through their schools, colleges, and other institutions in improving the condition of Negro and other minority groups, but we believe that these efforts will not accomplish their full results unless the Christian Church again accepts as a definite goal the practice of the early Christians in accepting all racial groups into the same religious society on the basis of equality.

Peacetime Conscription

(Continued from page 34)

of the training they would be less well prepared to fit themselves into their civilian pursuits, instead of better prepared, and would require a period of reorientation to break them of their habit of leaning on "superiors" for orders. . . .

The training program will unquestionably produce a different type of American citizen. It is an appalling thought that eventually our entire adult male population will have been subjected to this conditioning process. . . .

IV. International Aspects

In the first place, we now stand out as the militaristic nation. We have large forces still under arms and have great reserves of man power and matériel. We have held bases all over the world pointed at the heart of other nations. We have troops in Germany and Japan, where we are in contact with both British and Russian imperialism. We used the atomic bomb when Japan was already defeated and there was no longer any justification for its use. . . . We have started a race in armaments all over again and laid the foundations for World War III, which our Army is already talking about.

In the second place, such a rearmament race is futile. Mass armies trained by this program will fool no one but ourselves. We merely serve notice on the world that we have, for the second time, committed ourselves in advance to the wrong kind of armament program, which will give all the advantage to the enemy.

V. Veterans' Program

The veterans group that I represent proposes, therefore, that there be a complete restudy of the problem of national defense and of our military policy, by a commission representing the Army, Navy, air forces, scientists, educators, and in-

dustrialists; and offers the following program:

(a) Any military policy that we adopt at the present time must be designed to serve only during the period of transition to a new world order, and must facilitate that transition. We insist that our Government initiate action to abolish conscription in all countries of the world, thus relieving the threats to peace inherent in conscription and at the same time removing the tremendous tax burdens that compulsory training will impose on the country.

(b) Believing that another world war will mean the suicide of civilization, we demand that warfare be outlawed hereafter, and not merely weapons of war. We support the development of a stronger world organization, on the foundations of the United Nations Organization, which will be responsible, exclusively, for the development and use of the atomic bomb and other weapons of terror and destruction, with power to cross frontiers to prevent violations. We recommend that these weapons be publicized by radio, newspapers, motion pictures, and public demonstrations.

(c) Since peace must rest on law, we recommend that an international court based on the precedents set by the Nuremberg trials, be established before which may be indicted, tried, and punished, *in advance*, all citizens of all countries—Army leaders, radio commentators, newspaper editors, industrialists, leaders of special groups, etc., who incite to war, just as we punish those who incite to riot.

(d) Agreeing that we must assure our national safety until the new international order is established, we recommend that our forces be reorganized to make use of all the newest weapons—the atomic bomb, air power, V-bombs, etc. We insist, however, that all new developments be publicized and held in trust for the new international organization until such time as it is established.

About Books

To Whom Palestine? by Frank Gervasi. D. Appleton-Century. \$2.50.

The reply to the question Mr. Gervasi asks is, "To the Jews." When the popular correspondent of *Collier's* went to Palestine in 1939-1940 he was pro-Arab, but since then he has concluded that the weight of the evidence is on the other side. In his book he does not attempt to be objective, for "one cannot be objective about human beings." He presents the case for political Zionism with ardor and journalistic skill. He is convincing, but would have been more so if he had not dealt in such a cavalier fashion with the Arabs and their case, for, to borrow his phrase, are they not human beings also?

According to Mr. Gervasi, the solution to the Palestine problem "can only be found in the creation of a Palestine wherein the Jews may have liberty of immigration and colonization, and, with the Arabs, equal rights under law to worship, work, and live as a free people." He believes that the destiny of the Arabs would be safe in a sovereign Palestine, even in a Jewish Palestine, whereas the rights of the Jews in an Arab Palestine would be seriously endangered, since the Arabs have nowhere demonstrated an aptitude for any kind of government that recognizes the freedom of the individual.

To the usual arguments for Jewish title to the land of their ancestors, the author adds their contribution to the Allied cause, contrasted with the dubious and, at the best, halfhearted and opportunistic efforts of the Arabs. He is convinced that Palestine, with the possible inclusion of Transjordan, is large enough to accommodate comfortably all the Jews who would migrate there and that the Arabs would be drawn to it by its prosperity. To the reader who is familiar with the issues involved, Mr. Gervasi's analysis of the

various terrorist groups, the heroism of Jews in the late war, and the chapters on "Progress" and "Oil" will come with freshness. The British "divide and rule" policy takes a hard beating in the book, but the upshot of the argument is that a free and united Palestine will be less a danger to world peace than a Palestine used as a pawn in British colonial policy. He sees little to fear in possible Russian penetration.

Although the author tries to cover too much ground, much of it debatable, he proves his case. His book is a good "first reader" for one who is unfamiliar with the issues at stake, but it also provides new material and insights for the student of the subject.

WILLIS CHURCH LAMOTT

How to Handle Labor Grievances, by John A. Lapp. National Foremen's Institute, Inc. \$4.00.

There are more than 50,000 labor contracts that contain some kind of provision for the orderly handling of grievances. A study showed that in 1943, 45.5 per cent of grievances were settled by the foreman and the individual employees, while 46.5 per cent by management and labor committees. The remaining 8 per cent were settled by appeals boards and in only a few cases by the umpire.

Here is a great body of agreed-upon procedures by which occasions of friction that are inevitable where millions of individuals are concerned are settled. Too, here is an area of friction which never rises to the point of serious conflict and therefore never happens without public notice. Both of these items are important to an understanding and appraisal of industrial relations.

This book is an aid to such understanding. It tells of the kinds of disputes that

arise, of the kinds of efforts by which they are handled, of the procedures that are set up for dealing with them, of the problems that are met in such procedures, and of the methods and techniques which experience has proved most helpful. While the author is of necessity dealing with a rather specialized and technical subject, his way of writing and his own attitude toward the subject make him nontechnical and of reader interest.

In this story of constructive industrial relations told by one who himself has had an important role, the reader finds a factual antidote to much that today's headlines feature.—C.P.H.

The Christian Answer, by Paul J. Tillich, Theodore M. Greene, George F. Thomas, Edwin E. Aubrey, and John Knox. Edited by Henry P. Van Dusen. Scribners. \$2.50.

This book is the outgrowth of the thinking and discussion of about three dozen Christian scholars calling themselves "The Theological Discussion Group" who have met for two week ends a year for the past decade. Although written by five men it has remarkable unity and coherence. In the introduction, President Van Dusen states: "It is directed primarily . . . to thoughtful men and women who stand somewhat outside the Christian tradition, and yet who are moved by the events of our time to inquire whether Christian faith may not hold truth and power which they have neglected and of which they and their world stand in need."

Dr. Van Dusen also indicates the four questions that were in the minds of the group in planning the book: 1. Why take Christianity seriously? 2. Is Christian belief intellectually credible? 3. What has Christianity to offer? 4. What does Christianity propose? Professor Greene thus states the purpose of the book: "We are here trying to state once again, in contemporary terms, what we conceive to be the essence of Christian faith in the hope

that our skeptical friends will find it less unreasonable and more compelling than they had supposed."

Professor Paul J. Tillich, born and educated in Germany, sets the stage with a profound analysis of "The World Situation" which is an outcome, he says, of the rise of the triumph, and the crisis of "bourgeois society." This society was founded on the assumption of an automatic harmony between the individual interest and the common good. This assumption has broken down. He traces the results in man's cultural and intellectual life and in the economic, political, and international spheres. Life has become increasingly atomized, having no basis of community and being robbed of spiritual meaning. Man's exaltation of his own reason and will over against dependence upon and responsibility toward God and his purpose for man has landed him in his present unhappy situation.

Professor Theodore M. Greene, of Princeton University, begins the Christian answer to this situation with a treatment of "Christianity and Its Secular Alternatives." First he describes the attitude of the ordinary man. Secondly, he sets forth the position of naturalism in its naive form as represented by Somerset Maugham and in its sophisticated form by Sidney Hook, John Dewey, and Ernest Nagel. The third alternative is humanism, stressing faith in man and seemingly making faith in God unnecessary. In opposition to these secular positions, Professor Greene clearly states the Christian belief in God as the basis of all creation. He also convincingly presents the reasonableness of Christianity in answering secularist objections or misunderstandings of the supernatural, revelation, reason, faith, dogma, original sin, and the Church. This is a very clearly written and valuable chapter.

Professor George F. Thomas, of Princeton University, has contributed a clear statement of "Central Christian Affirmations." Positively and constructively he

shows the relevance to present human need of the relation of revelation and reason, the Bible in revelation, the Christian concept of God, of man, and of sin, of Christ and the creeds, the Atonement, salvation and new life in the Spirit, and the Kingdom of God, history, and community. This is a remarkably successful setting forth of the great central themes of Christian theology.

President Edwin E. Aubrey, of Crozer Seminary, shows what Christianity means for society. From Professor Tillich's indictment of our contemporary situation he has selected four key words: security, unity, freedom, and significance. With fine insight he shows that Christianity is the way to the surest realization of these essentials for living for which men are searching. Christian faith in God leads to a deep sense of meaning and delivers man and society from aimless futility.

Professor John Knox, of Union Seminary, New York, has written the last chapter to answer the question, "What has God called me to be and do and how can I fulfill that vocation?" The sections on "God's Perfect Will" and "The Grace of God" are especially fine. The chapter closes with a valuable statement on the significance of the Church as the "sustaining community" in which the Christian lives.

GEORGE W. KIEHL

Reveille for Radicals, by Saul D. Ginsky. University of Chicago Press. \$2.50.

This is a startling title for a book whose contents represent a very unusual but very sound approach to adult education, not the schoolroom type of adult education, but rather the kind of education that takes place where natural groups within their own surroundings face together the problems of the times and take action thereon.

Part one of the book is devoted to a discussion of the writer's philosophy regarding the organizations of our times, a large section being devoted to comparison of the methods used by management organizations with those of labor groups.

Part two is devoted to a discussion of a People's Organization, how it is set up, the program, how to secure the co-operation of natural leaders, how to identify these leaders, community traditions and organizations, and hazards to avoid. The material is based on the author's work in Chicago.

This book will please the man who opposes labor unions. There are many facts given that will support his point of view. It is an equally good book for the man who questions monopolistic capitalism and who sees in unions an opportunity through which democracy can function.

It is a good book for anyone working with lower-income or minority groups. It is equally good for anyone working with any kind of groups. It is a book that should be on the desk of every social agency in the country, and should be read by the Board members as well. This is a book with which most ministers will disagree at many points and every minister will get numerous suggestions therefrom.

In one chapter you admire the writer for his clear-cut, straightforward statements, and in the next chapter you will find him "panning" your "pet cause." People's Organization as outlined here might not be workable in every community, yet there are many principles in this book that might well be seriously considered by all those in the position of leadership of any kind of group.—F.M.C.

David the King, by Gladys Schmitt. Dial Press. \$3.00.

Do not fail to read this colorful and stirring book which relates so poignantly the life of the dynamic Hebrew ruler, erring but repentant leader of his people toward unity and toward God. Read this powerful unfolding of the vast panorama of life, ancient yet modern, that arouses in mind, heart, and soul a desire to "mount up with wings as eagles," to know God and serve his purposes despite the clutter and glamour of human experience.—G.M.M.

Study and Action

S.E.A. Materials

What Next in World Order? by John Paul Jones. A look ahead to the continuing task facing the Church and the nation. *10 cents.*

This Atomic World. Atomic bomb symposium, with introduction by Henry P. Van Dusen; articles by Thorfin Hogness, John Foster Dulles, Harold E. Stassen. *10 cents.*

The MacKenzies Talk About the United Nations, by Helen E. Resch. Prepared in script form for local broadcasting or for group discussion. *10 cents.*

Christian Political Action for World Co-operation. 1946 list of the members of the United States Congress and of Standing Committees. *Free.*

World Order and You. A 35 mm. film strip with narrator's script and suggestions for preparation and follow-up of the showing. For sale only. *\$2.00.*

TODAY AND TOMORROW LEAFLETS: **If Amos Should Speak Today; What Can the Jew Do?; As a Layman Sees S.E.A.; Wage Issues Behind Strikes; Labor Relations—A Practical View; Now You Are Home; Delinquents and Tomorrow; Children Adrift in Europe.** For general distribution. *25 copies, free; \$1.00 a hundred.*

Order from any Presbyterian Book Store.

S.E.A. in the Local Church

The Place of the Family in American Life, free; Improved Family Living Through Improved Housing, free

Order from Woman's Foundation, Inc., 10 East 40th Street, New York, N. Y.

Our Family Ties, 2 cents; Family Week in Home and Church, 2 cents; The Christian Family, 2 cents; 65 cents, \$1.00, and 65 cents per 100, respectively.

Order from Commission on Marriage and the Home, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

International Questions

Restless India, by Lawrence K. Rosinger. *35 cents.*

Order from Foreign Policy Association, Inc., 22 East 38th Street, New York 16 N. Y.

The Credit to Britain, The Key to Expanded Trade. An address by Dean Acheson, Undersecretary of State, February 1, 1946. Publication No. 2469. *10 cents.*

Order from U. S. Government Printing Office, Superintendent of Documents Washington 25, D. C.

Strategic Bases in the Pacific. *Single copies, free; \$2.00 a hundred.*

Order from Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, 45 East 65th Street New York 21, N. Y.

The Atomic Bomb Versus Civilization, by Robert M. Hutchins, Chancellor, University of Chicago. *20 cents.*

Order from Human Events, Inc., 608 South Dearborn Street, Chicago 5, Illinois

Labor and Industry

Building a Responsible Labor Movement, by Clara A. Hardin, the February issue of the Public Affairs News Service. *20 cents.*

Order from The Womens Press, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

Just Published

RELIGION IN RUSSIA

by Robert Pierce Casey

Here is one of the first clear pictures to be had of the role of religion in Russia, past, present and future. Dr. Casey, long a careful observer and student of the rapidly shifting trend of religion under the Tsars and the Soviets, has put Christendom in his debt for this thorough-going survey of its whole colorful recent history.

W. L. White, author of *Report on the Russians* says of the book, "It is seldom that any writer brings to so controversial a subject Professor Casey's deep sense of fairness. It should, for some time to come, be definitive in its field and is a highly readable contribution to a most important topic." **\$2.00**

JUSTICE AND THE SOCIAL ORDER

by Emil Brunner

Herein are discussed in relation to justice—to every man his due—specific questions of wages and property, communism and capitalism, international relations, and war and peace. "One of the most important contributions yet made by Christian theology to the solution of our political, social and economic problems."—*Manchester Guardian* **\$3.00**

at your bookseller

HARPER & BROTHERS

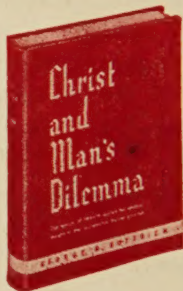
**49 East 33rd Street
New York 16, N. Y.**

CHRIST AND MAN'S DILEMMA

GEORGE A. BUTTRICK

Plainly and boldly this brilliantly written volume cries out against life's falsities: *false knowledge, false standards, false dreams.*

It deals with the basic problem of humanity. In the awareness of our ignorance, our wickedness, our mortality yet impotence to overcome them lies the dilemma. "We are ignorant," declares Dr. Buttrick, "but aware of our ignorance, yet unable to lighten our darkness: we



need a *revelation*. We are wicked, but we know our wickedness, yet we cannot overcome it: we need a *redemption*. We are mortal, and chained to mortality, though with a long enough chain to see it for what it is, yet we cannot break the chain: we need *deliverance*."

THE CONTENTS

THE DILEMMA

CHRIST AND OUR IGNORANCE

CHRIST AND OUR WICKEDNESS

CHRIST AND OUR MORTALITY

CHRIST AND BUSINESS

CHRIST AND EDUCATION

CHRIST AND THE MACHINE

MAN'S RESPONSE

\$2

GEORGE A. BUTTRICK

Dr. Buttrick, pastor of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City, since 1927, is known as one of the outstanding religious leaders of this generation. His spiritual insight is acknowledged wherever religion is seriously discussed, for his several books have widely influenced contemporary thinking. This volume results from years of searching analysis of the nature of human weakness. It is a clear delineation of the Christian solution against feeble schemes of human expediency.



AT YOUR PRESBYTERIAN BOOKSTORE

ABINGDON-COKESBURY

NASHVILLE 2, TENN.